

Message Text

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SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02 SS-15 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ACDA-05

BIB-01 OES-03 EB-07 CIEP-01 COME-00 STR-01 HEW-02

AF-06 INRE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 /108 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1237

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 255

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY RABAT

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY TUNIS

USNMR SHAPE BELGIUM

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER

USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES ITALY

USLO SACLANT NORFOLK VA

CINCLANT NORFOLK VA

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 GENEVA 1592

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: CSCE PFOR PARM EGEN SGEN XG

SUBJECT: CSCE: STATE II HIGHLIGHTS - MARCH 3-7

1. SUMMARY: TWO EVENTS DOMINATED AN OTHERWISE DULL WEEK:

USDEL ANNOUNCEMENT TO THE NATO CAUCUS OF AGREEMENT WITH THE

SOVIETS ON PEACEFUL CHANGE LANGUAGE FOR INCLUSION IN THE

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PRINCIPLE OF SOVEREIGN EQUALITY, AND A MARATHON DEBATE ON

THE NEXT FOUR-WEEK PROGRAM, WHICH COVERED QUESTIONS OF ESTABLISHMENT OF A WORKING GROUP ON FINAL DOCUMENTS AND STAGE III AND DURATION OF EASTER RECESS. DURING THIS OSTENSIBLY PROCEDURAL DEBATE, QUESTION ACTUALLY AT ISSUE WAS WHETHER THE CONFERENCE IS NOW MOVING TOWARD CONCLUSION, AND DIFFICULTY OF REACHING AGREEMENT SHOWED THAT THIS IS STILL THE MOST SENSITIVE ISSUE IN THE CONFERENCE. FINAL COMPROMISE SOLUTION WAS TO CONTINUE COORDINATING COMMITTEE DISCUSSION OF WHETHER TO ESTABLISH WORKING GROUP ON FINAL DOCUMENTS AND STAGE III, AND AN EASTER RECESS COVERING THE PERIOD MARCH 27-31. END SUMMARY.

2. PRINCIPLES AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION -- USDEL INFORMED NATO CAUCUS THAT AGREEMENT HAD BEEN REACHED WITH SOVIETS ON PEACEFUL CHANGE LANGUAGE TO BE INSERTED IN PRINCIPLE OF SOVEREIGN EQUALITY. IN DRAFTING OF PRINCIPLE OF COOPERATION AMONG STATES, PRINCIPLES SUBCOMMITTEE FORMULATED SENTENCES COVERING AIMS OF COOPERATION AND THE NARROWING OF DIFFERENCES IN LEVELS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. ALL OF THIS PRINCIPLE HAS NOW BEEN TENTATIVELY ACCEPTED EXCEPT A SENTENCE ON LEVELS OF COOPERATION -- I.E., THE ROLE OF INDIVIDUAL CONTACTS IN COOPERATION. IN SPECIAL WORKING BODY ON IMPLEMENTATION, ROMANIA SUBMITTED A THREE-PARAGRAPH DRAFT PREAMBLE FOR ITS NON-USE OF FORCE PROPOSAL, WHILE MAINTAINING THAT THIS WAS WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO THE QUESTION OF WHETHER NON-USE OF FORCE PAPER WILL BE A SEPARATE DOCUMENT OR NOT.

3. MILITARY SECURITY -- DESPITE LACK OF PROGRESS ON SUBSTANTIVE PROBLEMS, SUBCOMMITTEE CONTINUED WORK THROUGHOUT WEEK ON HELSINKI PARAS 22 AND 24 (RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CSCE AND ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS), AND AT MARCH 7 SESSION "MENTALLY" REGISTERED TEXT OF INTRODUCTORY SENTENCE AND FIRST PARA, WITH UNRESOLVED ISSUES IN BRACKETS. MODERATE STATEMENTS BY NEUTRALS AND ROMANIANS AT MARCH 5 SESSION ALSO GAVE SOME GROUNDS FOR OPTIMISM ABOUT AN EVENTUAL CONSENSUS ON TEXT OF ANOTHER PARAGRAPH OF THIS CHAPTER, ALTHOUGH A NUMBER OF POSSIBLE ELEMENTS REMAIN IN PLAY AND DRAFTING MAY YET PROVE ARDUOUS. IN NATO CAUCUS, ALLIED REPS GENERALLY REACTED FAVORABLY TOWARD CANADIAN SUGGESTION FOR DIFFERENTIATED PARAMETERS FOR ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF MANEUVERS, DEPENDING ON SIZE OF MANEUVER. HOWEVER, UK AND NORWAY AGREED

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WITH U.S. THAT CANADIAN IDEA SHOULD NOT BE BROACHED IN SUBCOMMITTEE UNTIL SOVIETS HAVE SHOWN SOME FLEXIBILITY ON PARAMETERS, AND OTHERS, WHILE EXPRESSING SOME DOUBT WHETHER SOVIETS WOULD BUDGE AT ALL FROM PRESENT POSITION UNTIL CLOSING DAYS OF STAGE II, APPEARED TO AGREE THAT TIME IS NOT YET RIPE FOR USE OF CANADIAN IDEA.

4. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY -- FULL COMMITTEE CONTINUED

TO DISCUSS WORDING AND INTERPRETATION OF NEWLY PROPOSED TEXT ON DEVELOPING COUNTRIES. ALTHOUGH THERE DID NOT APPEAR TO BE MAJOR SUBSTANTIVE PROBLEMS, A NUMBER OF DETAILED POINTS REMAIN OUTSTANDING. SUBCOMMITTEE ON COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES CONTINUED INCONCLUSIVE DEBATE ON A PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH CONCERNING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE AND THE WELL-BEING OF PEOPLES. IN DISCUSSION OF CONFERENCE WORK PROGRAM NATO DELEGATIONS SUCCESSFULLY RESISTED SOVIET EFFORT TO SCHEDULE A LARGER NUMBER OF MEETINGS OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY SUBCOMMITTEE IN THE NEXT WORK PROGRAM. THESE EXTRA MEETINGS WOULD HAVE ALLOWED TIME TO DISCUSS LAST WEEK'S SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR EXTENSIVE REVISIONS TO TEXTS WHICH HAVE BEEN PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED FOR MANY MONTHS. WESTERN DELEGATIONS HOPED SOVIET ACCEPTANCE OF ONLY TWO MEETINGS FOR THIS SUBCOMMITTEE INDICATED THAT THEY WOULD NOT INSIST ON REVISING THESE PREVIOUSLY AGREED TEXTS.

5. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION -- HUMAN CONTACTS SUBCOMMITTEE, STILL MIRED IN THE COMPLICATIONS OF THE INTRODUCTORY TEXT AND THE TEXT ON TRAVEL, MADE SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS ON THE MINOR TOPICS OF YOUTH AND TOURISM. THOSE TEXTS COULD BE COMPLETED NEXT WEEK. INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEE RAN INTO UNEXPECTED COMPLICATIONS ON THE NEXT PARAGRAPH OF THE PAPER ON WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS, AS THE SOVIETS KEPT FINDING PROBLEMS WITH INFORMALLY AGREED TEXTS. AS A RESULT NO REAL ACCOMPLISHMENT CAN BE REPORTED. WORK ALSO BOGGED DOWN IN CULTURAL SUBCOMMITTEE AS SOVIETS OPPOSED ANY REFERENCE TO "PERSONAL CONTACTS" DURING DISCUSSION ON HELSINKI AGENDA ITEM DEALING WITH EXTENSION OF CONTACTS AND COOPERATION AMONG CREATIVE ARTISTS. GREATER PROGRESS WAS MADE IN EDUCATION SUBCOMMITTEE, WHERE DISCUSSION CONTINUES ON RELATIVELY UNCONTROVERSIAL ISSUES. MEANWHILE, SOVIETS ARE STILL CONSIDERING WESTERN COUNTER-PROPOSAL TO UNACCEPTABLE SOVIET DRAFT TEXT CONCERNING CONTENT OF TEXTBOOKS.

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USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES ITALY

USLO SACALANT NORFOLK VA

CINCLANT NORFOLK VA

USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

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6. MEDITERRANEAN - YUGOLSAVS AND MALTESE UNEXPECTEDLY DROOPED THEIR INSISTENCE THAT CBM'S WORKED OUT AT CSCE BE APPLIED TO NON-PARTICIPATING MEDITERRANEAN STATES, AND WORKING GROUP WILL CONSIDER A MILD COMPROMISE PARAGRAPH ON GENERAL SUBJECT OF MEDITERRANEAN SECURITY NEXT WEEK.

7. FOLLOW-UP -- WORKING GROUP WAS SET TO BEGIN DEBATE ON
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OPERATIVE PART OF FOLLOW-UP RESOLUTION, BUT MEETING WAS POSTPONED BECAUSE OF PROLONGED COORDINATING COMMITTEE DISCUSSION OF NEXT WORK PROGRAM.

8. COMMENT: THE NORMALLY ROUTINE NEGOTIATIONS FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CONFERENCES'S NEXT FOUR-WEEK WORK PROGRAM MUSHROOMED INTO A SOMETIMES ACRIMONIOUS DEBATE WHICH LASTED THROUGHOUT THE WEEK AND INVOLVED DELEGATIONS HEADS IN TWO SOLID DAYS OF DIFFICULT DISCUSSIONS. THESE NEGOTIATIONS, WHICH CONCLUDED WITH A COMPROMISE

ON FRIDAY AFTERNOON, FOCUSSED ON TWO ISSUES OF MAJOR SYMBOLIC IMPORTANCE: FIRST, THE QUESTION OF WHETHER OR NOT TO ESTABLISH A SPECIAL WORKING GROUP ON THE FINAL DOCUMENTS AND STAGE III, AND, SECOND, THE DATES FOR THE EASTER RECESS. BOTH OF THESE POINTS TOOK ON SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE BECAUSE THE AGREEMENT REACHED ON THEM COULD BE VIEWED AS A MEASURE OF THE OVERALL CONFERENCE JUDGMENT ON WHETHER OR NOT CSCE IS NOW REALLY APPROACHING ITS CONCLUSION. THE SOVIETS ENTHUSIASTICALLY SUPPORTED THE EARLIER SWEDISH SUGGESTION FOR ESTABLISHMENT OF A SPECIAL WORKING GROUP, BUT THE EC-9, USDEL, AND A FEW OTHER WESTERN DELEGATIONS, WHILE AGREEING THAT DISCUSSION OF THESE SUBJECTS SHOULD NOW BEGIN, MAINTAINED THAT THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE SHOULD, FOR THE TIME BEING, CONTINUE TO CONSIDER THE QUESTION OF ESTABLISHMENT OF A SPECIAL WORKING GROUP. THE COMPROMISE RESULT WAS THAT FOUR EXTRA MEETINGS WERE ALLOTTED TO THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR CONSIDERATION OF THIS ISSUE, WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT A WORKING GROUP WILL BE ESTABLISHED WHEN THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE AGREES THE TIME IS RIGHT. WE WOULD EXPECT AT LEAST TACIT ACCEPTANCE OF ESTABLISHMENT OF A WORKING GROUP ABOUT 2-3 WEEKS FROM NOW.

9. THE SOVIETS ALSO BITTERLY INSISTED THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO EASTER RECESS WHATSOEVER, BUT EVENTUALLY AGREED TO A LONG EASTER WEEKEND, WITH SUBCOMMITTEE MEETINGS GROUPED TO PERMIT MOST EXPERTS TO GET AWAY FROM GENEVA FOR ABOUT ONE WEEK. THE SOVIET DELEGATION DID NOT HESITATE TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THEY KNEW SEVERAL WESTERN DELEGATIONS (E.G., FRENCH) HAD ALSO BEEN INSTRUCTED TO AGREE TO NO EASTER RECESS WHATSOEVER. INDEED, THERE WAS VERY LITTLE WESTERN RESISTENCE TO THE SOVIET POSITION, AND MOST WESTERN DELEGATIONS HAD EVIDENTALLY BEEN INSTRUCTED TO ACCEPT A VERY SHORT RECESS. NEVERTHELESS, SEVERAL SMALLER COUNTRIES RAISED OBJECTIONS, AND THIS ENCOURAGED SOME WESTERN DELEGATES, APPARENTLY FOR PERSONAL REASONS, TO SEEK A LONGER VACATION.

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10. THE SYMBOLIC SIGNIFICANCE OF A SHORT EASTER RECESS AND THE OPENING OF DISCUSSION OF THE THIRD STAGE IS CLEAR: TAKEN TOGETHER THEY WOULD DEMONSTRATE A COLLECTIVE JUDGMENT THAT THE CONFERENCE IS MOVING TOWARD A CONCLUSION. THIS IS OBVIOUSLY WHAT THE SOVIETS WANTED TO ACHIEVE. WESTERN DELEGATIONS ALSO WOULD LIKE TO SEE THE CONFERENCE MOVE TOWARD CONCLUSION, BUT BELIEVE THIS SHOULD BE BASED ON SUBSTANTIVE PROGRESS AND NOT SIMPLY ON APPEARANCES. IN FACT, THE AGREEMENT ON PEACEFUL CHANGE LANGUAGE, WHICH WAS REACHED OUTSIDE THE FRAMEWORK OF THE CONFERENCE, WAS THE ONLY CONCRETE INDICATION THIS WEEK OF PROGRESS ON SUBSTANCE, AS THE SOVIETS CONTINUED THEIR TACTICAL SQUEEZE PLAY, PUSHING AHEAD ON ITEMS OF INTEREST TO THEM, AND STONEWALLING EVERYWHERE ELSE.

END COMMENT. DALE

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